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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

WERE THERE TWO VERSIONS OF CICERO'S *PROGNOSTICA*?

Indications of the date of Cicero's translation of the work of Aratus are rather scanty. Of the two passages usually cited in this connection the first is found in the *De natura deorum*,¹ in which Balbus, before quoting at length from the *Φαινόμενα*, addresses Cicero, saying: "Utar . . . carminibus Aratiis, quae a te admodum adulescentulo conversa ita me delectant, quia Latina sunt, ut multa ex iis memoria teneam." This passage, and what Cicero in the *De oratore*² says of his methods of rhetorical exercise when an *adulescentulus*, have led scholars to consider the *Aratea* as a youthful composition,³ and yet this theory has not been easy to reconcile with the second shred of evidence found in a letter to Atticus,⁴ written in June, 60, when Cicero was surely no longer an *adulescentulus*, in which he says: "Prognostica mea cum oratiunculis propediem exspecta." This seems as though he had been recently working on the *Prognostica*, and Jordan⁵ held that this work was first translated in or about 60—that is, many years after the rest of the *Φαινόμενα*. But, as Sieg⁶ has pointed out, such a long interval between the translations of two parts of a comparatively short work seems improbable.⁷

A more attractive theory is that of Leo,⁸ that about the time of the letter of June, 60, Cicero was reworking the *Prognostica* for publication. Beyond the passages already quoted Leo gives no support for his view save the remark: "Die Verstechnik der *Prognostica* ist minder streng als die der *Φαινόμενα* (Frg. 5. 1, 2; 6. 3)."

But for this suggestion of Leo's there is an important piece of evidence which, so far as I can ascertain, has remained unused. Isidore,⁹ in a discussion of the bird *lusciniā*, says: "Eadem et acredula, de qua Cicero in

¹ ii. 104.

² i. 54 ff.

³ Leo (in *Hermes*, xlix [1914], 191, n. 3) suggests dating them about 86 B.C.

⁴ ii. 1. 11.

⁵ *Krit. Beiträge zur Gesch. d. lat. Sprache* (1879), p. 299; cited by Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.*, I, Part 2, 3d ed. (1909), p. 394.

⁶ *De Cicerone Germanico Avieno Arati Interpretibus* (1886), pp. 6–7.

⁷ The only other passages in Cicero that seem to bear upon the date are: *Ad Att.* xv, 16a (May, 44): "Equidem etiam pluvias metuo si *Prognostica* nostra vera sunt; ranae enim *ῥητροπεύουσιν*," and the quotations from the work in the *De divinatione*, which was not published till after the death of Caesar, but these are all too late to be of help.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

⁹ *Etym.* xii. 7. 37.

Prognosticis 'et matutino, exercet acredula cantu.'" This quotation has been strangely neglected by the editors of Cicero's *Aratea*, being probably considered as a late and worthless variant of a passage better known from Cicero's own quotation of it in the *De divinatione*.¹

Saepe etiam pertriste canit de pectore carmen
Et matutinis acredula vocibus instat,
Vocibus instat et adsiduas iacit ore querellas,
Cum primum gelidos rores aurora remittit.

Of course there is the possibility, which must not be overlooked, that Isidore (or some source) had compressed Cicero's four turgid lines into one (though had he wished a shorter quotation the second line would have served his purpose). Yet would the casual paraphraser in compressing the Ciceronian lines have been likely to keep all the features in them essential to an exact translation of the Greek and to eliminate only the unessential? But there is a further reason for thinking that we have here traces of two distinct Ciceronian versions. As a whole, Cicero's translation of the poem of Aratus is on about the same scale as the original. Sieg² notes that in long and continuous passages 480 lines of the Latin correspond to 472 lines of the Greek. This proportion of approximately line for line is shown in the passage as quoted by Isidore, in which Cicero has translated one line of Aratus (948):

ἡ τριῖζει ὀρθρινὸν ἐρημαίη ὀλολυγών,

by a single line, in which, to be sure, the important word *ἐρημαίη* is neglected, perhaps from lack of space. But in the *De divinatione* the same original is rendered by the singularly padded four lines already quoted.³ Isidore's line, then, is harmonious in scale with what we know of the rest of the work; the four lines in the *De divinatione* are out of all proportion in their expansion and in the comparative unimportance of what they add.

From the passage in the *De oratore* which I have cited it appears that Cicero learned by heart, not only others' works, but also his own. When an *adulescentulus*, in imitation of the method of Carbo he had practiced paraphrasing works of which he had memorized merely the subject, not the form. He further says: "post animadverti hoc esse in hoc vitii, quod ea verba quae maxime cuiusque rei propria quaeque essent ornatissima atque optima occupasset aut Ennius, si ad eius versus me exercebam, aut Gracchus, si eius orationem mihi forte proposuissem: ita, si iisdem verbis uterer, nihil prodesse; si aliis, etiam obesse, cum minus idoneis uti consuescerem." Obviously, however, the disadvantages that might arise from such a method of imitating Ennius would not obtain when Cicero was paraphrasing his own inferior work, and it may be to such a reworking (so satisfactory to him that he actually published it) that the expanded verses in the *De divinatione* belong. It is

¹ i. 14.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

³ Even in these four lines *ἐρημαίη* is not translated, important as it apparently is for the thought.

not strange, if we accept this view, that the word ἐρημαίη of Aratus found no place even in the four-line version of the Latin, for Cicero doubtless simply paraphrased his former translation, without further consultation of the original.

That the entire *Phaenomena* underwent a revision is improbable, for Cicero in his letter to Atticus speaks only of the *Prognostica*, and Balbus in the *De natura deorum* would surely have mentioned and used the more recent version, had there been one. To which version the other fragments of the *Prognostica* quoted in the *De divinatione* belong may be inferred from the probability that Cicero would have quoted them from the same edition as the verses on the *acredula*, and also that he would have used the later and hence more authoritative edition.¹ From which edition the three fragments quoted by Priscian² are taken is more difficult to determine. Possibly a minute metrical or stylistic examination of them might give some hint, but the materials are too scanty for any certainty. It may well be, however, that in the years between 86 and 60 the first edition had become so thoroughly established as to maintain itself against the competition of the second. That it at any rate was not entirely superseded we may gather from its quotation by Isidore.

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THE DATE OF CICERO'S *ORATIO DE PROVINCIIIS CONSULARIBUS*

In the third edition of his *Röm. Literaturgesch.* (1, II, p. 265) Schanz places the delivery of this oration late in May of the year 56 B.C., following the authority of Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.*, 3^e, p. 323) and of P. Hildebrandt (*De Scholiis Ciceronis Bobiensibus* [Göttingen, 1894], p. 25). On the other hand, Lange (*Röm. Altertümer*, 3^e, p. 331), Rauschen (*Ephem. Tullianae*, [Bonn, 1886], p. 42), Tyrrell and Purser (*The Correspondence of Cicero*, II², p. 26), Strachan-Davidson (*Cicero*, p. 270), Heitland (*The Roman Republic*, 3, s. 1121), and others place it in June.

Without doubt the speech was delivered after the fifteenth of May, for in s. 14 reference is made to the Senate's refusal of a *supplicatio* in honor of Gabinius, and from one of Cicero's letters (*Ad Q. Fr.* 2. 6. 1) we learn that the date of this action of the Senate was May 15. Less helpful are the allusions in ss. 26-28, showing that the oration was delivered after the Senate had voted to Caesar the *supplicatio* in honor of his victories in 58 and 57 B.C. and after it had voted the *stipendium* and the ten *legati*. The *supplicatio* would naturally have been decreed in the fall of 57 B.C. or in the early

¹ Cf. Reid's edition of the *Academica*, Introduction, p. 37, for Cicero's attempts to substitute a later for an earlier edition of that work.

² Fragments Nos. 1, 2, 9.